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ETHNOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ATAYAL, CHIN-SHUI TS'UN, MIAOLI HSIEN

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I. THE ATAYAL OF CHIN-SHUI TS'UN

101 Chin-shui Ts'un is situated on the banks of both the Wen-shui River [*lali²oŋ lilax*] or the Upper Hou-lung River and its tributary the Pa-kua-li River [*ŋa²oŋ toanoq*], while Tung-hsi-shui Mountain rises to the south and Heng-lung Mountain to the north of it. The Chin-shui Atayal was originally a branch of the *Tseo²le²* Tribe, and was formerly called the Wen-shui Fan or Wen-shui Tribe. According to Y. Sayama, the Wen-shui Fan originally included eight villages; but at the time of his investigation, there were only four villages: *paqali* (included a part of *xalo*), *tapilas* (included a part of *seqa²on*, or *taojan*), *ma²ao*, and *saxe²an* (included *saβulok*, *sanata*, and a part of *seqa²an*). Approximately at the same time, U. Mori also recorded only four village-names of the "six-villages of Ta-hu Fan, which were *paqali*, *tapilas*, *taojan* (*seqa²an*) and *saxe²an*. Later on, at the time of N. Utsurikawa's investigation (about 25 years ago) it was reported that there were only *paqali* and *tapilas*, and *saxe²an* known merely by name. [161] The *Takasagozoku-chosasho* (*The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines*) published in 1937 by the Japanese Government accorded with Utsurikawa's statement and stated that *paqali* had a population of 29 households, 133 persons, and *tapilas* 41 households, 217 persons. In the present investigation, we discovered that besides *tapilas* which is situated on the southern bank of the Wen-shui River, and *paqali* on both banks of the Pa-kua-li River, there is Ho-ti Village which is situated on the northern bank of the Wen-shui River. This Ho-ti Village is also called *saxe²an* by the Atayal, but the dwellers are no longer the *Tseo²le²*, they are mostly the *ʃiaqalo* of the *Seqoleq* Tribe, or the people of the *loxkax* Village. A part of them are the *pasqalan*, or the people of *məʃiŋo* Village. *qaino-βotox*, one of our informants, related that: "The *ʃiaqalo* originated in the place called *xabun-totonan*. In time of 166 the Chief *βota-momots*, they had moved to *jaβayan* and *loxqax*, and settled there for about three or four generations. They moved again to *wanpala* in 1925, because they had found that the lands of *jaβayan* and *loxqax* were not arable. In 1936, those who lived in *loxqax* had been coerced by the Japanese government to move to the northern bank of the Wen-shui River and there they formed the present Ho-ti Village; and those who lived in *jaβayan* to *laqus* of Nan-chuang Hsiang. The latter had moved again (between 1947-1949) to Heng-lung-shan and formed the present *jaβayan* or

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maqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxe²an*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *ma²ao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *ma²oa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-la²on* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaino-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimo-la²oŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *loxqax* or *saxe²an*, as well as *jaβayan* or *maqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβu²an*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβu²an* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβu²an* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβu²an* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par··ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sa'i²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621

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621 "companions". In the Atayal, a hunting group is organized by men each of whom comes from each family of the village. This group of people hunt together, and divide the game they have gotten. If a villager commits a crime, such as one who is going to marry another member of the same ***pinsaqa²an***, or one who is proposing to divorce his spouse, etc., the person concerned must offer a sacrifice, a pig or a chicken, and holds a ***xalion*** or a ceremony of breaking taboo for atonement. This ceremony will be attended by all household-heads of the group which hunt together. When the ceremony is over, the sacrifice will be divided among the attendants and will be eaten by them to avert evil influence. Of the above mentioned organizations, the former is a hunting group, and the latter a group for consuming sacrifice together. The ***Seqoleq*** Atayal call the former ***litan***, and the latter ***neqan***, but the ***tapilas*** is rather ignorant of these two terms, they refer to all participants as ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***gəlo***, which means "of the same ***gəlo***".

gaga means "tradition". In time of land clearing, seed-sowing, crop-harvesting, and ritual-hunting, all household-heads participate in the ritual to make offerings to their ancestors. After the ritual is over, the feast starts. The participants are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***gaga*** which means "of the same ***gaga***" or "of the same tradition". In ***tapilas***, a ***gaga*** is also a hunting group and a group for consuming sacrifice together as stated above, therefore, there is no distinction between a "***gaga***" and a ***gəlo***".

4. ***gamil***

613 There is another kind of unilateral type of kin group called ***gamil***. ***gamil*** means "root". Those who descend from the same ancestor are called ***otox*** or ***qotox*** ***gamil*** or "of the same ***gamil***". So ***gamil*** has a similar meaning to the Chinese term "tsung" lineage). A "tsung" is a unilateral kin group. The descent rule of the Atayal is patrilineal, therefore a ***gamil*** is a patrilineal kin group which resembles a lineage of the clannish society. Utsurikawa has translated ***gamil*** as ***shizoku*** or clan, but, as the present author has noticed, it differs from a clan, because it is not an exogamous unit and is not organized into a certain form of group. People who have the same grand-grand-father can not intermarry with each other. A woman is excluded from the ***gamil*** of her parents and joins her husband's after she is married. A man who has married into his wife's family belongs to his wife's ***gamil***. In the wedding ceremony, when a bride is sent to bridegroom's house, the go-between always intiates his address to the bride with the following words: "You were belonging to the ***gamil*** so-and-so, but now you have become a member of the ***gamil*** so-and-so". As stated in the foregoing section, ***tapilas*** has two principal ***gamils***: One is the ***gamil tapilas***, which the Chief ***βujoŋ-tolai*** belongs to. The first ancestor of the ***gamil*** within their memory is called ***ijo***. ***βujoŋ-tolai***'s grandson is a member in the seventh generation descended from ***ijo***. Another is the ***gamil məlilax***, which the vice-chief ***joqex-etex*** belongs to. The vicechief's son is in his descendants of the seventh generation counting from the first ancestor. Still another is called ***gamil maja²an***, which is the ***gamil*** of our first guide ***βa²ai-qaino***. Their first ancestor is called ***uʃi***. ***βa²ai-qaino***'s son is in his

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descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ʉʃi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son, *laŋao-ʉʃi* that moved to Hu-shan. *laŋao-ʉʃi* had a daughter *qojo-laŋao* and a son *βaitso-laŋao*. *qojo-laŋao* married *taimo-laŋao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-laŋao*, the younger brother of *qojo-laŋao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məililax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil* Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

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Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tseoʔleʔ* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *ʃiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβaŋan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *ʃiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məʃiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *ʔəmalas no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

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After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

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descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *uʃi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *,layao-uʃi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-uʃi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məlilax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil* Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

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3. Oath and New fire

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721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
721 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2) prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same
791 *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
[262] rnaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.
79] 6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

721 8. Calling the souls of the enemy

788 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

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of their enemies and says: "I have camphor leaves in my hands. One who has these leaves in his hands will acquire his enemies' heads." After this spell has been recited, all members in the expedition will come forward to touch the leaves with their hands. It is said that camphor leaves are used in this ceremony because the Han people often come to the mountain region to collect camphor leaves to make camphor, and therefore they think that the camphor leaves might have the power to attract the Han people to come for them to hunt.

9. Attacking

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The object of attack may be travellers, or may be a whole homestead which is near to their living section. They will attack the homestead when it does not guard against them.

10. Triumph

If the head have been gotten, they will put it in the bag [*taoqan*] and hurry back to their village. When they come to a place which their enemies can not reach, they will take out the head from the bag, and cut down its hair. This hair will be divided into two parts: a part of it will be kept in the headhunting guardian bag, and another part of it will be equally divided among those who have aided in securing this head. After the hair has been divided up, the whole troop will proceed on their way toward their home village again. When they come near the village, they will sing *qoas palis* or the triumphal songs. Then they will proceed again. As they reach the place where their village can be seen, they will stop and fire guns according to the number of heads they have gotten to be *xama²ao palis* or triumphal signals. They will shout "wao-si·····" after each firing. When hearing these signals the villagers will come out in full dress to welcome the triumphant returners.

11. Celebration

After the expedition troop has come back to their village, the victim's head will be hung on the *laoŋ* or the wooden hook in the hunter's house. All members of the troop will be fully dressed and assembled there. When the celebration is begun, the head is removed from the hook and is put on a wooden mortar which is put up side down. Wine is poured into the mouth of the victim's head. Every two members will go forward in pairs to drink of this blood-wine which flows out from the victim's neck. This is called *palamo*(s). When they are exhilarated from drinking, they will start to dance and sing. The dancers hand in hand will circle the head. Flutes will be played to accompany the dance and singing. The dance and singing will continue the whole night until the dawn of the next day. This celebration is called *mɔs-liβu*(s).

12. Sacrificial rites for the head

On the next day, the head will be removed from the mortar and put into the middle of the *sasaquliatsan*(m) or *paca*(s) or a skull rack in front of the chief's house. A twig with some leaves on its end and with many carved grooves in its stem will be stuck on the center of the rack to be *lajan*(s) or "signal for calling souls." A bamboo stick tied with four bundles of grasses (miscanthus tinctorious) is stuck to each end of

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721 the rack, which is called *ui*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (aralia papyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *wawaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-goani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 766 14. Defeated

If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deseased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] 262 241 Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game. The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.

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Vegetables—eggplant, cabbage, onion, garlic, wild tomato, pumpkins, gourd, beans (Pisum sativum, L.), etc.

Fruits—peach, pear, orange, persimmon, longan fruit, banana, (sugar cane), etc.

Eggs, meats, and fish—hen-eggs, duck-eggs, pork, beef, chicken, duck, turkey, meat of wild boar, monkey, and fox, and many kinds of birds and fishes.

Others—mushrooms, and other kinds of edible fungus.

Among the above list, rice, millet, sweet potato, and taro are staples; and the others are subsidiary articles to diet. They are generally prohibited from eating snakes, cats, dogs, rats, and frogs.

2. Preservation and storage of food

Methods of preserving food are (1) salting [*sintemoay*]; (2) drying [*mapci*]; and (3) baking [*aqaqay*]. Cabbage and radishes may be dried first and then salted, or may be salted first and then dried; they are stored in wooden baskets or pots. The salting method of monkey's meat is as follows: The monkey is killed by a wooden club, and then roasted at a fire to burn off the hair. After the hair has been burned off, the entrails will be viscerated and the whole monkey will be cut into small pieces. Then they will be stored with rice and salt in a pot. Pork is always roasted. Sometimes they roast or salt the meat while they are still on the expedition when game is plenty.

Cereals are stored in the grain-storage house. The grain storage house is a kind of pile-building constructed of bamboo (see IV House). Rhizomes are stored in their kitchens.

3. Preparation of food

Their methods of preparing food are mostly very simple. Every morning they pound the amount of rice they need for the day. Rice is pounded in the wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. Winnows are used to hold grains which overflow from the mortar and to winnow away the husks.

Their oven is constructed by sticking three knives or laying three pieces of stone on the earth like a tripod. In the former days, fire was made by drilling a piece of wood on another piece of wood. The strike-a-light method of making fire was introduced into the Atayal more lately, and today most of them use matches.

Meat is mostly boiled with water. Fish and small animals may be roasted.

Rice-cake and millet-cake are made by the same processes. Glutinous rice [*naisaini*] or glutinous millet [*tulaqis*] is used. It is washed, steamed, and then pounded.

Bananas are smoked on the fire or stored in a pit, which is covered by tree leaves and clay, to become ripe. To take away the acrid taste of the persimmons, they are stored inside a pot with water which has been boiled with longan leaves and unripe persimmons.

4. Condiments

Salty (of salt), pungent or hot (of ginger or cayenne pepper) is called *qomlox*. Sweet (of sugar), is called *sisiβin*. Acrid (of a unripe persimmon) is called *mapaya*.

They use only a few kinds of seasoning: salt, ginger, and oil. Salt is gotten by

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trading with the Han people. The ginger they raise by themselves. Most of the cooking oils they use are derived from animal fat.

5. Drinks and stimulants.

They drink water when thirsty. Their favourite drink is made by mixing ginger juice with water. This may be used as a medicine. They sometimes drink animal blood while they hunt on the high mountain where no water can be gotten.

They like wine very much. When one gets drunk, he will not be punished even if he commits a crime. In time of a festival, they will drink up all the wine which the host has provided. A man with a good capacity can drink five or six catties of wine. Two persons drink from one cup of wine at the same moment to show their friendship. No taboo need be observed in time of drinking.

Wine is mostly made of glutinous millet, though today glutinous rice may be used too. *qaocao-seto* reported that she brews wine with millet and rice mixed together. After the material is washed and steamed, it is put on a bamboo tray to be cooled [*maβasao*]. Then, it is transferred to another tray which is laid with taro leaves. It is then sprinkled with some water, and some *tamolo* or yeast is added. After two (in summar) or three (in winter) days it is transferred again to a *matapa* or wine-pot. Some water is added. After another seven days this will become wine.

In the former days, they produced their own yeast. Yeast made of glutinous millet is called *pinixeloŋ*, and of glutinous rice *patinani saixo*. It is made by putting steamed millet or rice into a tray which is laid with taro leaves and also covered by taro leaves for two or three days and then drying.

Another kind of stimulant used is tobacco. Tobacco is smoked with a bamboo pipe [*totox*]. In the fomer days, everybody had a bag for keeping the pipe and tobacco, but today, most of the young people smoke cigarettes. They plant tobacco. Tobacco leaves are dried under the sun in the day time and pressed under a stone at night for two or three days. The tobacco will be consumed when it is not too dry. They are not fond of the completely dried leaves because they are easilly broken and the taste is bad.

6. Consumption of food

They consume food as a necessity to maintain their lives, therefore vegetables, meats, and eggs are of very little importance, because their staples are rice, millet, sweet potato and taro. They always eat only these kinds of staples without anything to take with, not even salt. No refreshment is taken besides their meals.

Formerly, they ate twice a day, now, they eat three times. Breakfast [*qumuniama*] is taken in the early morning, lunch [*qumuliax*] at noon, and supper [*qumucaβiaŋ*] after dark. A family of twelve persons (the family of the Chief: four adults, eight children) consume four pints of rice each meal. Men and woman, old or young, eat together. Food is contained in a dish [*supiax*] which is put on the floor. The family members squat around it and eat with their hands. Soup, if any, is eaten with a wooden or bamboo spoon. Today, most of them use tables, chairs, and chopsticks,

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but no table etiquette and taboo in eating need be followed or observed. Though they hunted human heads formerly, they were not cannibals. 264

V. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Atayal are famous for their wampum clothes. In the Department collections, there are many specimens. Mr. Chang Kwang-chih has given a description of twelve of them (*v.* No. 2 of the bulletin, pp. 32–34). The clothes and ornaments are of many kinds. One of the present authors (Ho) has given a description of twenty-seven specimens of Atayal clothes in the Department Collections (*v.* No. 2 of this bulletin, pp. 22–29). In this investigation, we saw eight pieces of clothes and ornaments owned by the chief's wife. they are; head band [*qaqusop*], necklace [*nili*], breast cloth [*taojax*], long gown [*sipiliaŋ*], short gown [*atan*], waist-cloth [*toxawaq*], wrist-ornament [*ɓaoʔi*], and three kinds of leg ornament (the upper, *qinulaja*; the middle, *qaqi*, and the lower, *qinuoax*). Other kinds of ornaments possessed by her have been lost. 292

Today, only people over fifty years of age wear thier original kinds of clothes; young people usually dress in modern style. 291

Body deformation such as tooth chipping, ear-lobe piercing, and tattooing have been abolished in recent years. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *ali·jopas* (chief's wife) and *jajot·palie* (female, 73 years od age, see frontispiece) of *taɬilas* and *pisei·taxos* (female, 66 years of age) of *saɬulok*. 304

1. Clothes

Gowns are long or short. Long gowns are always long enough to cover the knees. Everyday clothes [*tiwajan*] have no collars and no buttons, and are with or without sleeves and single-breasted. Full dress [*ʃipaliaŋ*] has no collar, no buttons, and is without sleeves and single-breasted, but is always design-woven or wampum decorated. Full dress is worn in festival time. Only chiefs or head-hunters are allowed to wear clothes decorated with copper bells. Short gowns [*atan*] only cover the chest and are always above the navel. They have no collar, no buttons, and are without sleeves and single-breasted. *tajo* or toga is made of a single piece of cloth about one meter square, it is used to protect one from cold weather, and may also be used as a blanket to cover one's body at night. The other kinds of clothing are: head bands [*qajapis*], turbans [*qaqusop*], breast-cloths [*taojax*], leggings [*saolox*], the breechclouts [*ɓula*] of men, and the waist-cloths [*toxawoq*] of women. Rattan hats [*ɓaɓoɓin na quani*] are only worn by men. A rattan hat covered with bearskin is called *qaɓoɓin na ɣalox*, and is worn only at festival times. 291

Women, on the ordinary days, wear togas, breast-cloths, waist-cloths, and leggings, and long or short gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Men wear togas and breechclouts, and long gowns are added under the togas on cold days. Children wear long gowns with or without sleeves and togas. Most of their everyday clothes bear no designs. Clothes worn in festival times mostly elaborately design-woven or wampum decorated; and instead of wearing leggings, they wear leg-ornaments. Except [292]

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291 for the hat and breechclout of men and the comb and waist-cloth of women, men and women wear the same kind of clothes. At the time of a funeral, they wear old clothes, for according to their old tradition, all clothes which are worn at a funeral must be cast away.

[292] A deer-hide rain-coat [*xanqu na βaqanox*] is employed to protect them from the rain.

Clothes and ornaments are made by women. If a woman cannot make clothes, it is difficult for her to get married. Their cloth is made of hemp. After contact with the Han people, the Atayal have bought cloth from them and do not weave industriously as in former days.

They seldom wash their clothes. The fruit called *mawarsa* of a kind of plant called *mawalo* is used to soap their clothes.

301 2. Ornaments

Ornaments include ear-ornaments [*pintalaŋ*], neck ornaments [*nili*] (made of shell), [*nqalo*] (made of glass-beads), arm-ornaments [*paʃi tonaŋ*] (those used by men have hair of the hunted head attached to them), wrist-ornaments [*paoʾi*], finger ornaments [*qaqamut*], waist-belts [*xaxaβoh*], leg-ornaments [*qinulaja, qaqʃ, qinuwax*], etc. All these ornements, except the finger ornaments, are worn at festival times. Finger ornaments or a finger ring are ordinarily worn on the middle finger [*poaqaŋ*] or ring finger [*soʾai*]; a woman of talent may wear a ring on her forefinger [*qomi iao*] or little finger [*soʾai tsuβalai*]. One may wear ornaments from his or her early teen-age.

Atayal women wear a kind of comb [*qaqalu* or *xaxeiluqu*] when attending a feast, but this is never used to comb their hair.

3. Hair dressing

302 Young children let their hair grow, this kind of hair dressing is called *maqaino*. After five of six years, the hair is bound up with strings and is wound from left to right on the head, this is called *tuβuβaʾaŋ*. Oil derived from animal fat is used to dress their hair. If the hair grows too long, it may be cut with a knife. The fine hair on the face is pulled out by twisting two pieces of string. This string-twisting method which resembles the Chinese one, is also employed to shape their eye-brows. The beard is shaved by a small knife. They never wear a beard or a mustache. Today the young girls mostly get permanent waves.

304 4. Ear-lobe piercing [*pulaxan papaq*]

They pierce their ear-lobes between the ages of five to ten years. There is no specialist for piercing the ear-lobe. Earlobe piercing mostly takes place on a frosty winter day. The ear-lobe is first rubbed with frost and then pierced with a bamboo needle. A piece of sweet potato is put behind the lobe of the ear to be the anvil when the operation is in process. After four days the bamboo needle is removed, and a grass stem is stuck into the hole instead of it. Grass stems will gradually be increased in number until the hole is large enough for the ear-ornaments. The larger hole on the lobe is considered the more beautiful. Men and women have the same

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kind of ear-ornaments. Ear-ornaments are mostly worn on festival days. The Atayal start to wear ear-ornaments from about fourteen years of age. Ear-ornaments are especially important for the participants of a head-hunting expedition as stated above.

5. Tooth-chipping [*ʃinpay*]

The two upper incisors are chipped away at about thirteen years of age. Tooth chipping is done by a man with special technique. At the time of the chipping, the elder brother or cousin of the one who is going to recieve the operation holds the head and covers the eyes of the operatee to release him from fear. A piece of iron [*βali*] and an iron axe [*paʾalu*] are employed for chipping away the teeth. If the tooth is not chipped off at once, it will be removed by a knife. Blood will continue to flow for about three days, and it is washed away with water. Within these three days, he is excused from work.

6. Tattooing

According to the position of the tattoo on the body, the tattooing of the Atayal may be divided into the following five kinds: (1) forehead-tattoo [*pinterxowan*], (2) cheek-tattoo [*pintergaβoyan*], (3) chin-tattoo [*pinterqayeʾan*], (4) breast-tattoo [*pintergaβoyan*], and (5) leg-tattoo [*pintersayaaka*]. The following descriptions are chiefly based on the narratives of *jajot-palie*, who is the only woman with breast tatoo ever seen among the whole Atayal.

(1) Forehead tattoo—A man who attains the age of fourteen and a woman who attains the age of eleven, can have the forehead tattoo (*v.* pls. III and IV). *joqex-etex* reported that "in the ancient time, only men with military achievements (head-hunters) were allowed to have forehead-tattoo, but later, this rule had been loosened, so those who had participated in the head-hunting trip and had carried the victim's head might also be allowed to have forehead tattoo. In the old days, without a forehead tattoo and chin-tattoo (man) or cheek-tattoo (woman), it would be very difficult for one to find a mate. The forehead-tattoo is a line of about one centimeter in width and three or four centimeters in length, running vertically on the forehead.

(2) Cheek-tattoo—The cheek tattoo is confined to women only. A girl may have a cheek-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV: 1) at her first menstruation. A cheek tattoo is a mark that cover both ckeeks. Each ckeek has a band four centimeters in width. These bands on both cheeks join at the mouth and forms a V-shaped design. The band on each cheek consists of a design of three tattooed strips and two blanks. In the blank-strip, there are a row of cross marks.

(3) Chin-tattoo—The chin-tattoo is confined to men only. It is tattooed at the same time with the forehead-tattoo (*v.* pl. IV). A chin-tattoo is a vertical line of one centimeter in width leading from the lower lip to the end of the chin.

(4) Breast-tattoo—Though no limitation of sex is imposed, the breast-tattoo is only confined to men with military achievement and women with chastity and skillful weaving technigues. The tattoo mark is a vertical line of one centimeter in width and three centimeters in length (*v.* frontispiece). According to *βonai-tolao* of *paqali*, his

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304 grandfather's breast mark was different from what we described above. That is, beside the vertical line, each side of it had three horizontal short lines. It is said that each of these short lines represented five heads which had been hunted by him.

(5) Leg-tattoo—The leg-tattoo is confined to women only. No qualifictaion has been ordained. The leg-tattoo of *jajot-palie* is a straight line with barbs about two centimeters in width and three centimeters in length. That of the wife of *joqex-etex* is a square mark of about three centimeters on each side with a pair of diagonal lines inside of it.

The tattooer [*papatas*] has special training; all the tattooers are women. There is no tattooer in *tapilas* today. Tattoo operations are mostly performed in winter time to avoid suppuration. The instruments employed consisted of a small knife [*βuli*], a wooden hammer [*tatutfin*], needles [*lao*], an instrument for wiping blood [*qaquwar*] and soot from the bottom of a pot [*ilox*]. Tattooing was done under a shaded place. A mat was laid for the one who was going to recieve the operation to lie upon. After a prayer had been offered, the operator sat close to the head of one who lay on the mat. She used a small knife to draw lines on the face of the operatee, and then with needles in her left hand, and a wooden hammer in her right hand, she started the operation. Blood was wiped away with a bamboo instrument. After each section of the desigh had been done, she rubbed the soot on it. A man's forehead and chin tattooes needed about two hours, and a woman's cheek tattoo needed ten hours. The operator was rewarded with cloth and food.

VI. HOUSING

342 Atayal houses were originally of the semi-subteranean type, but these are not found in Chin-shui Ts'un. Houses, except granaries are all built on the ground level.

1. Processes of building a house

342 764 A house may be built in any season of the year. In former days, if anyone (who is more than three months old) of the family dies, he will be buried inside the house and the house will then be abandoned. The chief of the village related that the custom had been given up in 1929. From 1929 they buried their dead in the grave yards, so today they do not change their houses as frequently as before. But even today they do not build a new house on the old site, this custom may be regarded as the survival of the old tradition.

342 Their process of building a new house is as follows:

(1) Collecting materials—The materials for building a house are: wood, bamboo, and rattan. Tree trunks are used to be ridge pole, beams, rafters, and other kinds of posts. Bamboos are used to make the walls and roof. Rattan is used for tying together the posts or other parts of the house. Materials are collected one month before the house is to be built. They are transported to the site by both man and woman, though house-building is mainly the man's work.

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(2) Starting to build—After the site has been chosen, the owner digs the ground one time with a hoe, then goes back to his old house to seek for a dream omen. If he sees a wounded or sick person in the dream, it is considered as an evil omen. If he sees many animals and crops, it is considered as a good omen. When a good dream is secured, he will start to build his new house the next day.

(3) Erecting the posts and making the frame of the house—When the site is cleared, he starts to erect the posts. To built a house of only one room, six posts will be erected; to build a house of three rooms, twelve. The upper end of the post is cut into a fork-shape for resting the ridge or beams. The lower part of the post is to be buried in the earth. After the posts have been erected, the ridge pole and beams are rested on them and tied to them. This makes the frame of the house.

(4) Covering the roof—Atayal houses are mostly topped with a gable-roof. Most of the roofs are made of bamboo, though a few of them are made of tin-plates.

(5) Making the walls—Walls may be made of bamboo, or may be of wicker-work pasted over with mud which is tempered with grass. Some of the latter kind are whitewashed.

The entrance is an opening of one meter in width and less then two meters in height. The leaf of the door is a piece of wooden plank or bamboo wickerwork. Most of the doors have only one leaf. Mostly the orientation of the door is facing the valley, because the house is built on the slope.

The window is an opening 40–50 centimeters in width and 60–70 in length. The leaf of the window is a wooden plank or a piece of wickerwork which is the same as the door. Glass is very seldom used.

After the above memtioned processes are completed, a fire place and one or two beds will be added, these complete the house building.

2. Types of house

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The author has dividied the houses of these villages into the following types according to the material used:

(1) Houses with bamboo roofs and bamboo walls;

(2) Houses with bamboo roofs and mud-wickerwork walls;

(3) Houses with bamboo roofs and partly bamboo walls and partly mud-wickerwork walls.

3. Annexes

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Other kinds of buildings besides dwelling house are:

(1) Farm-huts;
(2) Hunting-huts;
(3) Granaries;
(4) Chicken huts;
(5) Pigsties;
(6) Cow-huts;
(7) Compost house
(8) Privies;
(9) Bee hives;
(10) Drying frames.

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苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村文臉及胸的泰雅族老婦 (何廷瑞攝)
An Atayal old woman showing tattooed face and breast, Chin-shui Ta'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127a (frontispiece, Chinese text)/

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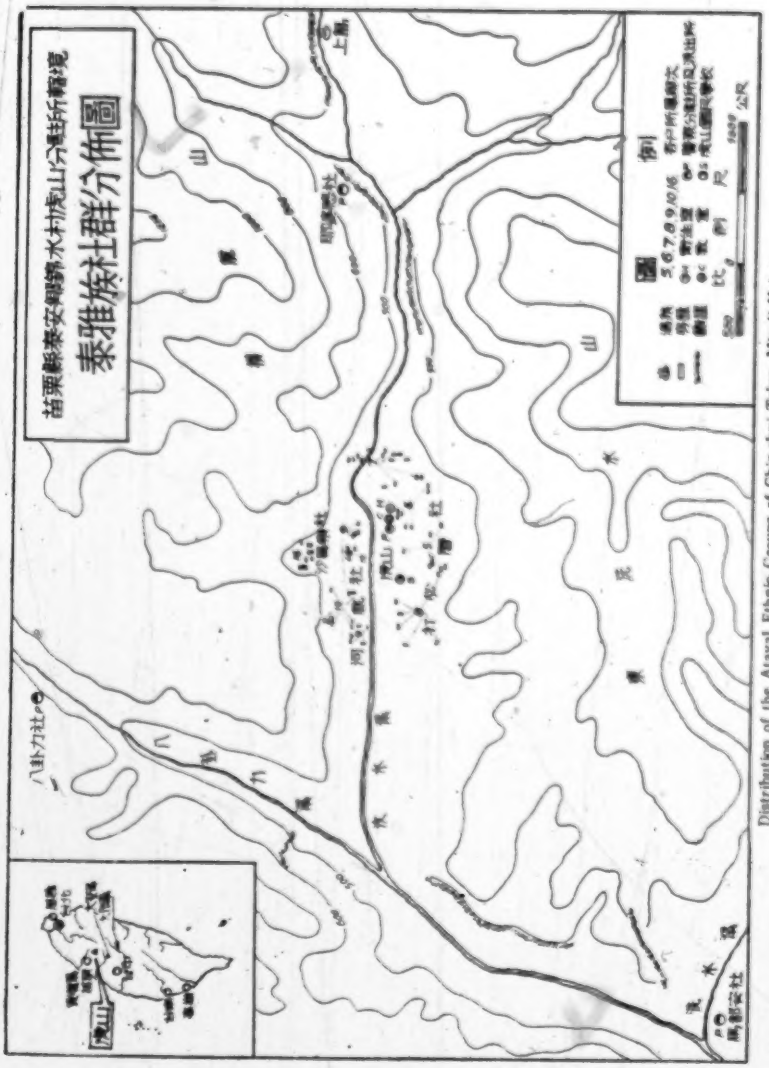

Distribution of the Atayal Ethnic Groups of Chin-shui Ts'un, Miaoli Hsien

/P. 127 b (facing p. 30, Chinese text)/

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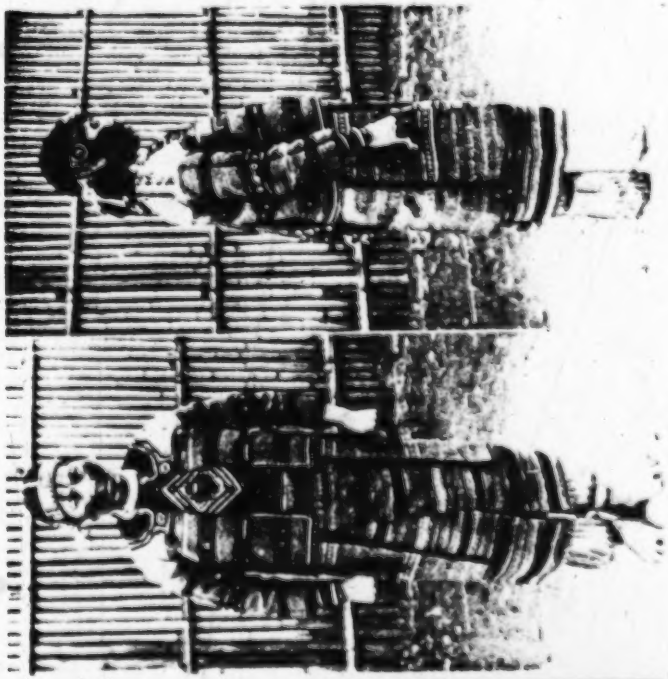

2. 泰雅族婦女全裝 An Atayal woman in full costume

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1. 泰雅族男女裝 Atayal man and woman in everyday clothes

/P. 127 c (facing p. 40, Chinese text)/

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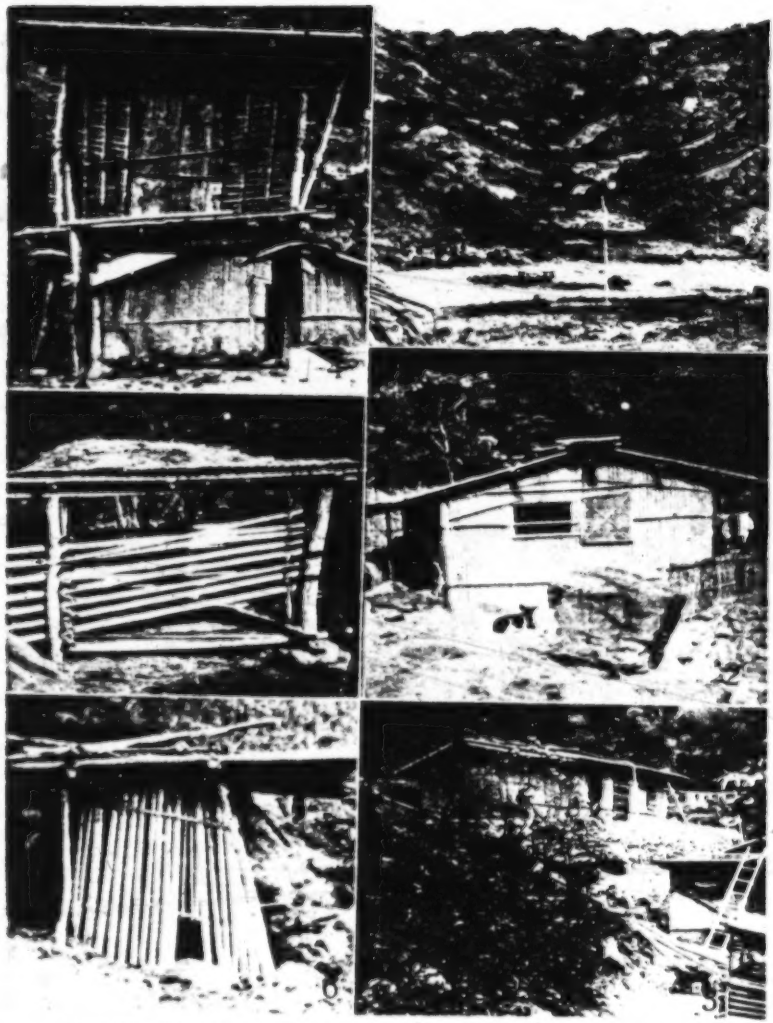
臺灣縣家安鄉溫水村泰雅族聚落概觀



1. 溫水溪兩岸的泰雅族聚落；2. 第一式家屋；3. 第五式家屋；4. 穀倉；5. 豬圈；6. 雞舍。
1. Villages on both banks of the Wen-shui River; 2. Atayal house, type 1; 3. Atayal house, type 5; 4. Rice granary; 5. Pigsty; 6. Chicken hut.

/P. 127 d (facing p. 42, Chinese text)/